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WEST GERMAN ATTITUDES CONCERNING THE NEW GERMAN ARMY

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RESEARCH STAFF
OFFICE OF PUBLIC AFFAIRS
AMERICAN EMBASSY

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I N T R O D U C T I O N

The Western world awaits with considerable interest, the twelve divisions which West Germany is supposed to contribute to NATO. Some (particularly the French) view the newly emerging West German army with considerable misgivings based upon memories of the past - memories of Prussianism and militarism run rampant. Such people tend to see the Germans champing at the bit, eager to take up arms again so as to be the foremost military power on the continent, and hence able to dominate its neighbors. On the other hand, others in the West, are impatient with the rate of the buildup of the West German army and fear that the West Germans do not have any heart in the project. They see in the parliamentary debates evidence of a national reaction to past militarism (even recoil), and proof that the new army will not only be an overly long time coming, but that its individual soldiers will have no fighting morale.

The present study was designed to determine just what West Germans actually are thinking about their new army - how much they welcome it, if they do - and how they would like it to develop.

The report is based upon a survey conducted during the period December 5 to 15, 1955. The 1525 adult respondents in West Germany and 280 in West Berlin comprising the samples were selected according to area probability methods and are representative of the populations in those areas 18 years of age and over.

Interviewing was conducted by DIVO-Gesellschaft fuer Markt- und Meinungsforschung m.b.H., Frankfurt/Main, a German survey organization working under contract with the Research Staff.

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SUMMARY

Knowledge concerning the new West German army does not appear to be particularly high among the population. Actually, three out of ten were not even aware that there was a new army under formation and seven out of ten did not know how big the army was supposed to be (either in terms of divisions or in terms of total manpower).

There is no concerted rush either to set up the army or to swell its ranks. Only a slight plurality is in favor of establishing the armed forces at the present time. A majority does, however, consider that it is necessary. The unconvinced segments of the population in both cases are considerable. Popular uncertainty is further found over the question of having either a volunteer or a draft army. Equal proportions (2 out of 5) favor each alternative.

While less than one out of ten (6%) welcomes the emergence of the army enough to wish to volunteer, almost two-thirds (64%) make it clear that they will go along willingly, if not eagerly, should they be drafted. The picture is the same among young men of draft age (18 to 24 years of age). True, only 5% say they would volunteer, but then only 7% say they would refuse to serve under any conditions.

In having an army, the average West German would like to see it different from the past. A majority does not want the army to enjoy any special privileges within the society, and does not want the old system of strict drill and blind obedience to be incorporated in the new army. On the latter point, however, they are quite uncertain whether their wishes will in fact be respected.

In their parliamentary manuevering, the Bundestag representatives are (whether they know it or not) reflecting popular uncertainty over the necessity for insuring civilian control over the military. Within the population for every 40 people favoring the idea, there are 15 opposed, and most important, another 45 who do not know what to think.

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Section I. - Knowledge

THREE-TENTHS STILL UNAWARE THAT GERMANY HAS AN ARMY AGAIN....

Despite the running newspaper discussions about the coming of the new West German army no more than 70% of the population knew this to be a fact after it had actually occurred. Even West Berlin, where knowledge of current events of imprtance to Germany is usually higher than in West Germany, is not too informed. There 67% said that there was a new army, as against 71% saying that in West Germany. West Berlin's lack of information is further seen in the figure of 20% who said that there was no new army. In West Germany only 14% made this incorrect response.

"Can you tell me whether West Germany has an army of its own again already, or whether this isn't yet the case?"

	West Germany (1525)	Men 18-24 (83)	West Berlin (280)
Army of its own	71%	87%	67%
Not yet the case	14	8	20
Don't know	15	5	13
	100%	100%	100%

The young men who will make up the budding West German army are considerably more aware of the existence of the army than the average West German. Among this group (18 - 24 years of age) almost nine out of ten (87%) knew that the army had been established.

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ONLY THREE OUT OF TEN KNOW THE NUMBER OF DIVISIONS WHICH ARE PLANNED....

Only about one quarter of the population (27% in West Germany and 25% in West Berlin) really know how many divisions (or how many men) will comprise the new Federal army. An additional 3-4% have a fairly good idea and may be included among those considered to have some knowledge of the numbers involved. Thus it is clear that as the new army starts, the overwhelming proportion of the population (some 70%) are clearly unaware of how many divisions or men are to be involved.

Young men, in the military age brackets, while slightly better informed (45% have some knowledge of the size of the army to be) are still largely uneducated since even the majority of them do not know.

"Would you please tell me how many divisions are planned for the German federal army, as far as you know, or how large the man power of the federal army is to be?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Right	27%	39%	25%
Almost right	3	6	4
Wrong	6	11	10
No opinion	64	44	61
	100%	100%	100%

OVERWHELMING MAJORITY SEE ARMS COMING FROM THE U.S.A. ...

Whether it is knowledge or supposition based upon the known relationship between the Federal Republic and the US, almost seven-tenths (65% in West Germany and 78% in West Berlin) name the USA as the source for the first shipment of arms for the new army. Fewer than one out of ten thinks that the arms will come from German production or from some other source.

"Can you perhaps tell me from where Germany will get the first shipments of arms for the new federal army?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
From the USA	65%	77%	78%
From our own production	5	4	3
From somewhere else	1	5	2
No opinion	29	14	17
	100%	100%	100%

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LESS THAN HALF BELIEVE INITIAL ARMS WILL BE MOST MODERN AVAILABLE ...

Some suspicion exists that these first arms shipments being made available from American supplies will not be the most modern and best equipment that could be obtained. The percentage believing that the arms will be the most modern (44%) is larger than that for those who flatly state that the arms will not be the best available (33%), but the group uncertain whether the arms will be the best or not (23%) can hardly be considered as having too much faith in the quality of the material.

"Do you believe the federal army will obtain the most modern and the best equipment available with these shipment, or do you think this will not be the case?"

	West Germany Dec. '55 (1525)	Men 18-24 Dec.'55 (83)	West Berlin Dec.'55 (280)
Best equipment available	44%	54%	66%
Not the case	33	33	28
No opinion	23	13	6
	100%	100%	100%

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Section II. - Attitudes Concerning the New West German Army

CAREER SOLDIERS ACCORDED LOWEST OCCUPATIONAL PRESTIGE....

As a device, to determine feelings concerning army life, a list of thirteen occupations (including regular army soldier, and career officer) were presented to all respondents. They were asked to choose the one which, in their eyes, enjoyed the highest prestige and the one which had the least. The prestige laden occupations were found to be those of doctor, skilled worker, farmer, college professor and master artisan. Far in the rear, hardly ever chosen by anyone (and the most often chosen for last place) were "career officcer" and "regular army soldier".

Replies of the young men are almost identical with those of the general population.

"Which of the following occupations enjoys the greatest prestige with you? And which takes last place?"

	First Place			Last Place		
	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
White-collar worker (Bank clerk, etc.)	2%	-	6%	3%	1%	5%
Businessman (Grocer, etc.)	4	2	7	3	4	3
Farmer	12	13	8	7	13	4
College professor	11	12	8	1	-	1
Skilled worker (Machinist, etc.)	14	16	15	4	1	3
Regular army, soldier	*	-	*	18	29	21
Civil Servant (postal or railroad service)	5	2	3	4	2	6
Career officer (military)	*	-	1	8	11	8
Teacher	3	1	3	3	-	6
Physician	20	21	26	2	5	1
Factory manager (executive)	4	7	2	2	2	4
Politician	2	5	3	15	9	17
Master artisan (carpenter, locksmith)	11	14	13	4	8	3
No opinion	12	7	5	26	15	18
	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%	100%

* Less than one half of one percent.

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ATTITUDES UNCHANGED CONCERNING THE NEW ARMY OVER THE LAST YEAR....

-ONLY SLIGHT PLURALITY FAVORS SETTING UP THE ARMY AT THE PRESENT TIME
-WHILE MAJORITY CONSIDERS IT NECESSARY TO ESTABLISH ONE

Almost identical percentages were found in December 1955 to those found in February 1955 on the question of personal approval of the establishment of the military forces now. Just under half (48%) are in favor of it, while about ten percent less are opposed (39% now).

Among young men of military age, there is understandable division of opinion, (but not uncertainty) for the percentages favoring and opposing the establishment of forces are nearly equal (47% for and 45% against).

The West Berlin population is considerably more in favor of the setting up of military forces than the West German population. There 70% are for it and only 27% against.

"Are you for or against West Germany setting up military forces now? (Very much or somewhat for it?) (Somewhat or very much against it?)

	West Germany			Men 18-24		West Berlin	
	Feb '55 (1867)		Dec.'55 (1525)		Dec.'55 (83)	Dec.'55 (280)	
Very much for it	18%	47	19%	48	19%	47	41%	70
Somewhat for it	29		29		28		29	
Somewhat against it	13	37	14	39	13	45	11	27
Very much against it	24		25		32		16	
No opinion	16		13		8		3	
	100%		100%		100%		100%	

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Study of the following tables showing responses according to the background characteristics of the respondents reveals that the greatest support for the establishment of the armed forces is to be found among:

Men..
The better educated...
Those in the higher socio-economic groups...
Adherents of the CDU and FDP parties...
Unemployed, professional people, and business men...
Refugees and expellees...
People in Hesse, Lower Saxony, and Schleswig-Holstein...

The most opposition on the other hand is to be found among:

The middle income groups...
Adherents of the SPD...
Residents of cities over 250,000...
People in Wuerttemberg-Baden and Bavaria...

"Are you for or against West Germany setting up military forces now?"

	For it	Against it	No opinion	No. of cases
Total West Germany	48%	39%	13%..100%	1525
Sex:				
Men	56	36	8	659
Women	41	42	17	866
Education:				
Elementary school	45	42	13	1264
Beyond elementary	59	30	11	261
Income:				
Up to 149 DM	48	28	24	160
150 to 299 DM	48	38	14	312
300 to 399 DM	43	45	12	366
400 to 499 DM	42	49	9	257
500 DM and more	55	36	9	343
No answer	44	32	24	87
Opinion Leadership Scale:*				
Very active	57	37	6	79
Somewhat active	51	41	8	411
Remainder	45	39	16	1035
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	63	27	10	59
Upper middle classes	54	35	11	380
Lower middle classes	45	43	12	848
Lower classes	44	35	21	238
Age:				
Up to 24 years	40	45	15	163
25 to 34 years	47	45	8	355
35 to 44 years	45	43	12	279
45 to 54 years	47	40	13	323
55 years and above	53	29	18	405

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* Determined by political and organizational participation.

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	For it	Against it	No Opinion	No. of Cases
Party Preference:				
SPD	37%	58%	5%..100%	354
CDU/CSU	66	26	8	423
FDP	65	34	1	81
Other parties	53	39	8	79
No party	38	44	18	319
No party preference stated	37	34	29	269
Occupation:				
Professionals	67	23	10	40
Businessmen	61	28	11	86
White-collar workers	47	43	10	144
Skilled laborers	48	46	6	221
Semi-skilled laborers	45	48	7	127
Domestic Service	31	36	33	45
Farmers, farmhands	56	33	11	112
Housewives	42	44	14	522
Unemployed	73	20	7	15
Pensioners; retired	51	29	20	200
Students; apprentices	54	23	23	13
Religion:				
Catholics	49	35	16	715
Protestants	47	42	11	755
Others	45	50	5	22
No religion	24	73	3	33
Origin:				
Natives	46	41	13	1235
Expellees, refugees	55	32	13	290
City size:				
Up to 1,999	49	36	15	460
2,000 to 4,999	48	39	13	123
5,000 to 24,999	46	40	14	334
25,000 to 99,999	49	40	11	254
100,000 to 249,999	58	33	9	138
250,000 and more	39	51	10	216
Land:				
Schleswig Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	53	42	5	165
Lower Saxony	53	34	13	214
North Rhine Westphalia	47	38	15	406
Hesse	52	39	9	166
Rhineland Palatinate	46	34	20	85
Wuerttemberg/Baden	42	44	14	207
Bavaria	42	43	15	282

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LEADING REASONS GIVEN IN FAVOR OF SETTING UP THE ARMY...

-YOUTH'S NEED OF TRAINING
-GERMANY'S NEED OF PROTECTION

The two reasons asserted equally often by people in West Germany as the reasons for setting up the army now concern themselves with imparting a sense of order and discipline to the youth, and, the country's need of military forces for its own protection (16% each).

It is interesting to note that although young men of military age put the country's need for protection first (18%), they, themselves, placed young people's need for military training second (9%).

"Are you for or against West Germany setting up military forces now? (Very much or somewhat for it?) (Somewhat or very much against it?)"

IF "Very much" or "Somewhat for it":
"For what reasons are you for it?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Our young people need military training	16	9	23
"It would be good to teach our brutal youth some discipline".			
"It is imperative to take our youth off the streets as soon as possible so that juvenile delinquency will decline."			
"It would be a good thing to take our young people off the street and educate them right."			
"Considering the murders committed by juveniles, it seems most advisable to make military service compulsary."			
"Everyman who has been a soldier has become more orderly. Young people need training."			
We need military forces for our protection	16	18	17
"A nation of 60 million people wedged in between two power blocs can't do without military forces."			
"I'm of the opinion that a nation like Germany must be able to defend itself, and for that purpose we need an army of our own."			
"We need military forces for our protection. We can't do without military forces."			
"I hate war and don't want to experience another one, but we need some sort of protection in case some other nation launches an attack."			
"We must protect ourselves, other countries also have military forces."			

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	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Every state needs military forces for reasons of prestige	6%	9%	8%
"A country without an army of its own doesn't count." "Every independent nation needs an army to safeguard its interests." "A state needs military forces in order to be recognized as a powerful nation by the world." "Every sovereign nation needs an army of its own. No one will take us seriously if we have no military forces."			
We must guard against the peril from the East	4	7	24
"It is necessary for our security. The political situation is critical enough, as the Russians don't cease threatening us." "We need soldiers to give the Russians a good licking." "We need an army as a defense weapon against the Eastern bloc." "Only an army of our own men can check Russia and its satellites which are armed to their teeth."			
We need military forces, but a war must be prevented at all costs	2	-	1
"An army is necessary, but for heaven's sake, let's steer clear of war." "Military forces all right, but no war." "If they don't go farther than establishing an army, I won't object."			
We must raise an army, we have no choice	2	2	-
"An army is a necessary evil." "We have no choice, we must do it."			
Unemployment would decrease and our economy would be stimulated	1	2	3
"Our economy would be stimulated for unemployment would be reduced." "The rate of unemployment would be reduced."			
We cannot leave the defense of our country to foreign soldiers	1	1	1
"We can't expect foreign nations to lend us their soldiers ten years after the war." "It is impossible for us to be protected by foreign troops for any indefinite period of time."			

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	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
We have to fulfill our obligations	1%	-	1%
"Military forces represent our contribution to the defense of Europe against Communism." "If we want the Western Powers to continue their support, we have to fulfill our defense engagements."			
We might use an army as a means of pressure to achieve reunification	*	-	4
"The Russians would then show more respect and more willingness to comply with our wishes regarding reunification."			
Other answers	1	2	1
No opinion	1	-	*
	51%@	50%@	83%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.
* Less than one half of one percent.

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OPPOSITION TO SETTING UP MILITARY FORCES CENTERS AROUND UNFORGOTTEN FEARS...

-REMILITARIZATION WOULD LEAD TO WAR
-HORRORS OF PAST WARS TILL REMEMBERED

In West Germany the two leading reasons for opposing the establishment of forces at the present time are:

Remilitarization would lead to another war (13%)
The last two wars and their consequences are not yet forgotten (11%)

Military aged youth, naturally give as their main reason, their reluctance to be drafted (15%), while fear that it might lead to another war (in which they would be directly involved) is the second most often cited

"Are you for or against West Germany setting up military forces now (Very much or somewhat for it?) (Somewhat or very much against it?)

IF "Somewhat against it" or "Very much against it":
"For what reasons are you against it?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Remilitarization would necessarily lead to another war	13%	9%	8%
"An army means war." "Because no good will come of remilitarization. There will be another war once all nations are armed again." "A German army would provoke other nations." "Once military forces are set up, they'll start a shooting war before long." "I'm against all measures that might lead to war".			
The last two wars and their consequences are not yet forgotten	11	7	8
"I'm sick and tired of everything connected with the military. My brother was killed and my husband crippled in the last war." "After what we went through, another war would be simply too terrible." "I still have enough of the last war. It's the small man who has to pay, while the industrialist profits." "I'm fed up with war. I still remember the last war when we were unable to feed our children properly."			

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	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
I am opposed to the draft for personal reasons:	6%	15%	2%
"I strictly refuse to become a soldier. I was a member of the Hitler Youth some years ago. I've had enough." "I don't want my husband to become a soldier for the third time." "I've got two sons, and I don't want them to be drafted."			
I am against militarization on principle	2	4	3
"I'm once and for all against militarization." "I'm against raising an army, no matter what country is concerned." "Everything connected with the military makes my blood boil.			
Not all prisoners of war have returned yet	2	2	1
"Not before all veterans have returned home." "Because after ten years German soldiers are still suffering in Russia." "As long as German POW's are still retained, they shouldn t raise an army. The sons shouldn't have to march by the prisons of their fathers."			
The time is not ripe yet for remilitarization	1	1	2
"The right moment hasn't come yet. The political situation isn't stable enough." "I think it is not the right time for such a project. Remilitarization now would be premature."			
Germany must be reunified first	1	2	1
"As long as Germany isn't united, the setting up of an army is out of the question." "The right time hasn't come yet. The two parts of Germany must be united first If we refrain from setting up an army, the Russians can't but withdraw from the Eastern territories."			
The large funds needed for rearmament should be used for social purposes	1	2	1
"The money needed for an army should be invested elsewhere." "They should look after the needy people first!"			

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	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
The German soldier has been defamed, and the raising of an army prohibited	1%	-	1%
"Because German soldiers have been badly treated, and contemptuously handled." "They once prohibited the raising of a German army and now we are supposed to have one again.			
The strength proposed for an army is inadequate	1	2	*
"Military forces of our own will never be a decisive factor in world developments." "Because we will never be strong enough for an effective resistance "			
Other and qualified answers	3	6	3
"An army will make things worse." "I will approve of raising an army only if it is meant exclusively for defense purposes. It must not fight for other nations."			
No opinion, no answer, irrelevant answers	1	-	-
	43%@	50%@	30%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one anser.
* Less than one half of one percent.

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On the necessity of establishing the army, the West German population (including the military-age youth) are much more positive. About six-tenths can still see some necessity for it (60% in February 1955 and 63% in December). West Berliners are even more emphatic concerning the need, for close to nine-tenths (87%) of them see some need to establish the army again.

"Regardless of whether you personally like it or not, how necessary do you consider it for us to have an army again?"

	West Germany		Men 18-24	West Berlin
	Feb.'55 (1867)	Dec.'55 (1525)	Dec.'55 (83)	Dec.'55 (280)
Absolutely necessary	16%)	14%)	8%)	32%)
Very necessary	16) 60	18) 63	22) 67	27) 87
Somewhat necessary	28)	31)	37)	28)
Not so necessary	11	10	12	5
Not at all necessary	14	15	15	5
No opinion	15	12	6	3
	100%	100%	100%	100%

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By and large the necessity for having an army again is seen most clearly by the same groups in the population who were in favor of the reestablishment of the armed forces. These groups are:

The men...
The better educated...
The higher socio-economic groups...
The lowest and highest income groups...
The unemployed and professional people...
Those over 55 years of age...

"Regardless of whether you personally like it or not, how necessary do you consider it for us to have an army again?"

	Necessary	Somewhat necessary	Not necessary	No opinion	No. of cases
Total West Germany	32%	31%	25%	12%...100%	1525
Sex:					
Men	42	30	24	4	659
Women	27	32	25	16	866
Education:					
Elementary school	29	32	26	13	1264
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300 to 399 DM	28	33	29	10	366
400 to 499 DM	30	37	26	7	257
500 DM and more	40	26	27	7	343
No answer	36	30	18	16	87
Opinion Leadership Scale:@					
Very active	49	17	33	1	79
Somewhat active	39	29	26	6	411
Remainder	28	32	25	15	1035
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	58	17	18	7	59
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35 to 44 years	34	31	25	10	279
45 to 54 years	31	32	25	12	323
55 years and over	41	26	20	13	405

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@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

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	Necessary	Somewhat necessary	Not necessary	No opinion	No. of cases
Party Preference:					
SPD	25%	34%	36%	5%...100%	354
CDU/CSU	46	34	12	8	423
FDP	54	27	17	2	81
Other parties	43	31	24	2	79
No party	26	27	34	13	319
No party preference stated	20	28	22	30	269
Occupation:					
Professionals	64	15	16	5	40
Businessmen	42	16	32	10	86
White-collar workers	39	27	26	8	144
Skilled laborers	28	36	31	5	221
Semi-skilled laborers	30	31	31	8	127
Domestic service	27	26	20	27	45
Farmers, farmhands	32	39	19	10	112
Housewives	26	35	24	15	522
Unemployed	52	27	14	7	15
Pensioners; retired	41	22	20	17	200
Students; apprentices	46	31	23	-	13
Religion:					
Catholics	32	30	23	15	715
Protestants	33	33	25	9	755
Others	28	27	36	9	22
No religion	24	18	49	9	33
Origin:					
Natives	30	31	27	12	1235
Expellees, refugees	42	31	16	11	290
City Size:					
Up to 1,999	29	34	22	15	460
2,000 to 4,999	43	23	23	11	123
5,000 to 24,999	31	32	27	10	334
25,000 to 99,999	33	35	22	10	254
100,000 to 249,999	39	29	21	11	138
250,000 and more	32	24	33	11	216
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	38	35	23	4	165
Lower Saxony	34	36	17	13	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	35	25	27	13	406
Hesse	32	38	24	6	166
Rhineland/Palatinate	33	30	18	19	85
Wuerttemberg/Baden	27	32	28	13	207
Bavaria	31	28	28	13	282

REASONS FOR THE NECESSITY OF AN ARMY EMPHASIZE NEED FOR SECURITY....

Approximately two-thirds of the reasons given why military forces are necessary at the present time have as their theme the need to safeguard the security of the country (42%), indeed half of the reasons given cite this point explicitly. The second most often cited reason is the necessity to give military training to the younger generation (11%).

"Regardless of whether you personally like it or not, how necessary do you consider it for us to have an army again?"

IF "Absolutely necessary", "Very necessary", or "Somewhat necessary:
"Why do you consider it to be necessary?"

Summary Table

	West.Germany
FOR SECURITY	(42%)
Just like any other country - we must be able to protect ourselves	33%
We must be safe from the menace of the East	7
We must do our share to insure the security of the West	1
Troops of one's own are more reliable than those of foreign countries	1
FOR PRESTIGE	(6%)
A sovereign country must have an army	5
We must be able to defend our interests against Russia and must have a voice in unification	1
FOR DOMESTIC REASONS	(14%)
Military training is necessary for young people	11
An army is needed to maintain order within a country	2
Unemployment would be reduced and business and industry stimulated	1
OTHER ANSWERS	(2%)
NO OPINION, NO ANSWER	(2%)
	66%

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"Regardless of whether you personally like it or not, how necessary do you consider it for us to have an army again?"

IF "Absolutely necessary", "Very necessary", or "Somewhat necessary:
"Why do you consider it to be necessary?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Just like any other country - we must be able to protect ourselves:	33%	39%	35%
"We must have soldiers who will protect the Federal Republic."			
"Because we must be able to defend ourselves in case of a surprise attack."			
"Because every country must have defense machinery, otherwise it will be a plaything of the other powers."			
"We need protection, just as all the other countries do."			
"Unfortunately, we have no choice but to jump with the jumping cats. If all the other nations continue to rearm, we simply have to guard against acts of aggression."			
Military training is necessary for young people	11	4	13
"It certainly would be a good thing to teach those young louts some discipline."			
"There must be something which inspires the young with respect."			
"The young must be stopped from idling in the streets. They are an awful cheeky lot."			
"Only in the army do young men get an all-round education."			
We must be safe from the menace from the East	7	10	29
"We are forced to set up an army because of the Russian peril."			
"An army means a counterpoise against the measures taken by the Eastern bloc."			
"It's necessary for us - as a protection against enslavement at the hands of the Communists."			
"We must have a protection as the Russians have footholds all over the world. We started much too late."			

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	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
A sovereign country must have an army	5%	6%	10%
"A state without an army isn't a state in the regular sense of the word." "Once we have an army, the others will recognize us as a fully sovereign state." "A country without an army is an absurdity, even the Vatican has soldiers of its own." "So that we will regain the respect which we once commanded in the world. A country without military forces is a pitiful thing, indeed."			
An army is needed to maintain order within a country	2	1	3
"Military forces can see to it that peace and order are maintained - that the security of the country is safeguarded." "It's necessary for keeping order within the country."			
We must do our share to insure the security of the West	1	2	1
"In order to support the fight against Communism in which the West is engaged." "It's necessary because we have to contribute towards the security of Europe."			
We must be able to defend our interests against Russia and must have a voice in negotiations	1	1	2
"Because we must have strong trumps when dealing with the Russians." "I hope and trust that thus reunification will be brought about sooner." "Because we must be able to make our weight felt in a future showdown."			
Troops of one's own are more reliable than those of foreign countries	1	1	1
"Because we can rely more trustfully on troops of our own than on those of other countries." "Some fine day the Allies will beat it, no doubt."			
Unemployment would be reduced and business and industry stimulated	1	-	2
"Because setting up armed forces will only bring economic advantages." "An army would absorb many unemployed young men."			

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	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Other answers	2%	1%	1%
"Then there will be no occupation costs any longer."			
"Because a nation that does not have the will to defend itself is no good."			
No opinion, no answer	2	2	-
	66%@	67%@	97% @

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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REASONS FOR CONSIDERING AN ARMY NOT NECESSARY.....

"Regardless of whether you personally like it or not, how necessary do you consider it for us to have an army again?"

IF "Not so necessary", "Not at all necessary."
"Why do you consider it to be (not so necessary) (not at all necessary)?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
An army means war	8%	3%	2%
"As soon as we have an army again, there will be war."			
"It will only result in war."			
"The sooner we have an army, the greater is the possibility of a war."			
"A country that has no army won't be attacked. I regard an army as a challenge."			
We can get along without an army	4	10	2
"Germany can be a healthy state without maintaining an army."			
"We don't need one. It's not necessary."			
"I think that peace can be maintained even if we don't have an army."			
Our (limited) armed forces will be ineffective especially in an atomic war	3	4	1
"As it is now, these few divisions have no importance at all. If Russia starts a war, we are the loser in any case."			
"Because in the atomic age soldiers won't play a decisive part."			
"Because the West German armed forces can't be a decisive factor in the balance of power between East and West."			
An army would be too heavy a drain on our resources - tasks in the social sector are more important	2	2	1
"Costs too much of our money! First they should see to it that the war-disabled are looked after properly."			
"There are still so many important problems to be solved."			
"I am opposed for financial reasons. The money should be used for social purposes."			

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	West German	Men 18-24	West Berlin
We Germans know from experience where war leads	2%	1%	1%
"Memories of the last war still haunt me." "Later on our boys will again be regarded as war criminals."			
Police units provide adquate protection	1	4	1
"They should establish police forces, that's quite sufficient." "Police forces will do."			
The Western Powers protect us	1	-	1
"There are the British and the Americans to defend us." "Occupation troops guarantee our security."			
We cannot act independently anyway	1	2	-
"We haven't much say and our political course is determined by the foreign countries." "There's nothing we can really do. The others just tolerate us and won't ask whether we agree to something or not."			
Other answers	2	1	1
"Germany could be neutral for once." "Should Germans fight against each other?"			
No opinion, no answer	2	-	-
	26%@	27%@	10%@

@ Some repondents gave more than one answer.

MAJORITY UNENTHUSIASTIC ABOUT THE ARMY (BUT WILLING TO PUT UP WITH IT)....

As a sort of summary of reactions to the reestablishment of military forces in West Germany, the following question was presented with a card containing the six possible answers. The 15% selecting one of the first two alternatives may be considered those who really welcome the reemergence of the new West German army. The 19% who selected one of the last two, are those who are not happy to see this take place. It can be noticed, therefore, that the majority (59%) selected one of the middle two choices. Such selection can be taken as an indication of compliance but without enthusiasm.

"Here you'll find different views dealing with the military in general. Would you please tell me which of these views corresponds most closely to your own feelings?" (CARD)

	West Germany		Men 18-24		West Berlin	
I think it's grand that we have military forces once more	3%	15	1%	11	5%	20
I feel the army is quite a good institution which one should welcome	12		10		15	
Military forces simply are necessary, whether you like it or not	36	59	29	64	45	68
Although I don't particularly like the idea of an army, unfortunately one cannot get along without it	23		35		23	
I'm against militarization on principle	13	19	19	24	5	9
Whenever I see or hear anything of the military, I feel sick	6		5		4	
No opinion	7		1		3	
	100%		100%		100%	

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The segments of the population having the most favorable attitude toward armed forces in the Federal Republic are:

The lowest income group...
The lowest socio-economic groups...
Refugees and expellees...
Residents of Lower Saxony...

The least favorable attitude (verging into opposition) on the other hand is to be found most prevalent among:

Skilled and semi-skilled workers....
Adherents of the SPD...
Residents of Rhineland-Pfalz and Wuerttemberg-Baden...

"Here you'll find different views dealing with the military in general. Would you please tell me which of these views corresponds most closely to your own feelings?" (CARD)

	Approve	Unenthusiastic	Disapprove	No opinion	No. of cases
Total West Germany	15%	59%	19%	7%...100%	1525
Sex:					
Men	16	61	20	3	659
Women	13	57	20	10	866
Education:					
Elementary school	14	57	21	8	1264
Beyond elementary school	14	68	12	6	261
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	20	54	16	10	160
150 to 299 DM	13	58	20	9	312
300 to 399 DM	14	55	25	6	366
400 to 499 DM	16	59	20	5	257
500 DM and more	13	61	20	6	343
No answer	14	56	18	12	87
Opinion Leadership Scale:@					
Very active	16	61	20	3	79
Somewhat active	13	65	19	3	411
Remainder	14	57	20	9	1035

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@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

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	Approve	Unenthusiastic	Disapprove	No opinion	No. of cases
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	12%	73%	7%	8%	59
Upper middle classes	15	64	15	6	380
Lower middle classes	13	59	22	6	848
Lower classes	20	48	20	12	238
Age:					
Up to 24 years	10	61	22	7	163
25 to 34 years	12	60	21	7	355
35 to 44 years	13	61	19	7	279
45 to 54 years	14	59	20	7	323
55 years and over	19	56	17	8	405
Party Preference:					
SPD	12	57	29	2	354
CDU/CSU	18	71	8	3	423
FDP	12	76	10	2	81
Other parties	24	56	18	2	79
No party	11	54	25	10	319
No party preference stated	14	46	20	20	269
Occupation:					
Professionals	10	78	10	2	40
Businessmen	17	64	13	6	86
White-collar workers	13	60	21	6	144
Skilled laborers	12	59	25	4	221
Semi-skilled laborers	12	60	25	3	127
Domestic service	16	53	18	13	45
Farmers, farmhands	14	61	20	5	112
Housewives	13	58	20	9	522
Unemployed	20	60	20	-	15
Pensioners; retired	19	56	15	10	200
Students; apprentices	23	69	-	8	13
Religion:					
Catholics	13	60	18	9	715
Protestants	15	60	19	6	755
Others	4	68	28	-	22
No religion	13	42	42	3	33
Origin:					
Natives	13	59	21	7	1235
Expellees; refugees	19	61	12	8	290
City size:					
Up to 1,999	11	60	19	10	460
2,000 to 4,999	12	64	20	4	123
5,000 to 24,999	18	56	19	7	334
25,000 to 99,999	16	62	16	6	254
100,000 to 249,999	15	61	16	8	138
250,000 and more	14	55	25	6	216
Land:					
Schlewsig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	18	66	14	2	165
Lower Saxony	22	54	16	8	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	14	59	19	8	406
Hesse	13	66	16	5	166
Rhineland/Palatinate	8	63	26	3	85
Wuerttemberg/Baden	7	58	26	9	207
Bavaria	15	56	21	8	282

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Section III. - Willingness to Serve

COMPULSORY MILITARY SERVICE AND VOLUNTEER ARMY ALMOST EQUALLY APPEALING...

As far as West Germany is concerned, an army based on compulsory military training is only slightly more appealing (42%) than the idea of allowing it to be based on volunteer soldiers (38%). Only in West Berlin are a majority of the people in favor of one of the alternatives - that of compulsory military training (54%).

Understandably enough, young men of 18 to 24 years of age would prefer a volunteer service (48%) to compulsory military service (36%).

"In your opinion, should the future West German armed forces consist of volunteer career soldiers, or should compulsory military service be re-introduced?"

	West Germany		Men 18-24	West Berlin
	Feb.'55 (1867)	Dec.'55 (1525)	Dec.'55 (83)	Dec.'55 (280)
Volunteer career soldiers	39%	38%	48%	42%
Compulsory military service	41	42	36	54
No opinion	20	20	16	4
	100%	100%	100%	100%

Among very few groups within the population of West Germany is there an actual majority in favor of either having a volunteer army or a draft army. In fact it is only among the SPD adherents that an actual majority (53%) is to be found in favor of a volunteer procedure. Majorities in favor of universal conscription are to be fond among anumber of groups, including:

The men...
The better educated...
The highest socio-economic groups...
Business and professional people...
Those most active in organizations...
Adherents of the CDU and FDP....

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"In your opinion, should the future West German armed forces consist of volunteer career soldiers, or should compulsory military service be re-introduced?"

	Volunteer	Draft	Undecided	No. of cases
Total West Germany	38%	42%	20%...100%	1525
Sex:				
Men	39	50	11	659
Women	38	36	26	866
Education:				
Elementary school	39	40	21	1264
Beyond elementary	38	51	11	261
Income:				
Up to 149 DM	25	45	30	160
150 to 299 DM	36	42	22	312
300 to 399 DM	43	37	20	366
400 to 499 DM	41	44	15	257
500 DM and more	39	46	15	343
No answer	39	39	22	87
Opinion Leadership Scale:@				
Very active	34	53	13	79
Somewhat active	38	48	14	411
Remainder	39	39	22	1035
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	35	58	7	59
Upper middle classes	35	49	16	380
Lower middle classes	40	40	20	848
Lower classes	37	37	26	238
Age:				
Up to 24 years	45	33	22	163
25 to 34 years	48	39	13	355
35 to 44 years	40	42	18	279
45 to 54 years	37	42	21	323
55 years and over	26	49	25	405

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	Volunteer	Draft	Undecided	No. of cases
Party Preference:				
SPD	53%	35%	12%...100%	354
CDU/CSU	32	55	13	423
FDP	30	63	7	81
Other parties	28	57	15	79
No party	42	35	23	319
No party preference stated	31	29	40	269
Occupation:				
Professionals	35	57	8	40
Businessmen	31	57	12	86
White-collar workers	46	41	13	144
Skilled laborers	47	39	14	221
Semi-skilled laborers	44	43	13	127
Domestic service	33	38	29	45
Farmers; farmhands	34	54	12	112
Housewives	39	36	25	522
Unemployed	33	47	20	15
Pensioners; retired	24	47	29	200
Students; apprentices	47	38	15	13
Religion:				
Catholics	37	42	19	1235
Protestants	40	43	17	755
Others	41	45	14	22
No religion	42	43	15	33
Origin:				
Natives	39	42	19	1235
Expellees, refugees	35	46	19	290
City Size:				
Up to 1,999	35	44	21	460
2,000 to 4,999	40	41	19	123
5,000 to 24,999	39	40	21	334
25,000 to 99,999	40	42	18	254
100,000 to 249,999	33	49	18	138
250,000 and more	44	39	17	216
Land:				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	42	48	10	165
Lower Saxony	32	49	19	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	41	38	21	406
Hesse	37	43	20	166
Rhineland/Palatinate	39	39	22	85
Wuerttemberg/Baden	36	36	28	207
Bavaria	40	44	16	282

THOSE FAVORING A VOLUNTEER ARMY SAY "NOBODY SHOULD BE FORCED TO SERVE"

THOSE FAVORING CONSCRIPTION SAY "ALL MUST SERVE" OR "YOUTH NEEDS DISCIPLINE"

The argument that "nobody should be forced to serve in the army" is advanced more often than all other arguments combined by those who favor the idea of volunteer career soldiers for the new West German army (23% of the 39% who favored a volunteer army). Among the exact comments given can be seen a singular regard for the freedom of the individual.

"In your opinion, should the future West German armed forces consist of volunteer career soldiers, or should compulsory military service be re-introduced?"

IF "Volunteer career soldiers":
"Why do you think so?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Nobody should be forced to serve in the army - there will be a sufficient number of volunteers	23%	36%	22%

"Military conscription means submitting the whole nation to coercion, and we certainly remember the evil experiences we had under the Hitler regime."
"The freedom of the individual must be guaranteed."
"The individual citizen must be free to act according to his convictions."
"No pressure should be exerted as otherwise serious conscientious scruples might be raised."
"There are so many young men who will enlist, they should draw on this reservoir first."

Volunteers would be more efficient than a conscript army	4	2	11

"They'd make better soldiers than people forced to serve in the army because professional soldiers have their heart and soul in it, and that would raise the level of the army."
"Volunteers have much more idealism than conscripts."
"If you are forced to do a thing, your heart isn't in it. Those who volunteer will have more enthusiasm for the job".
"Draftees will submit to training only reluctantly."

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	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
A small army of volunteers suffices for our needs	2%	1%	3%
"If we desire to contribute towards consolidating peace, we must settle for a volunteer army, for then it won't be unnecessarily large." "That would make sure that the manpower of the army will always be limited." "Because then the army wouldn't become too strong which is always a bad thing."			
Compulsory military service should be resorted to only if the number of volunteers would not suffice	2	4	2
"Only if not enough young men enlist should compulsory military service be introduced." "It's not necessary to introduce compulsory military service as long as enough volunteers sign up." "Only in case of war should universal military training be introduced, for otherwise not enough soldiers would then be available."			
Not anyone who lived through the last war could wish that he or his relatives would be drafted	2	2	2
"Because today's generation of men hasn't yet forgotten the last war and they take a dim view of becoming soldiers once more." "Because those who served in the army and later were prisoners of war do not want to see it start all over again." "I served in the army for a year, and I certainly have had enough."			
Nobody should be hampered in his training or professional advancement	2	4	1
"The professional training of so many young people should not be forcibly interrupted." "If the army were made up of volunteers only, the professional training of a large number of young men wouldn't be disrupted." "Military service would mean a break in the apprenticeship or professional training of a young man."			

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	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Volunteers would have to take the consequences of their action upon themselves	1%	-	1%
"As these soldiers will have joined the army voluntarily, they cannot blame anybody else for the consequences." "Adventurous types can join the army, but then they are also responsible for their action.			
Unemployed and shirkers can volunteer for the army	*	-	1
"Let those enlist who shun working or are out of a job." "Let those who are out of a job enlist."			
Other answers	2	-	1
"In a volunteer army the discipline won't be so strict." "Because it means the state will have to provide larger funds."			
No opinion, no answer	2	1	*
	40% @	50% @	44% @

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.
* Less than one half of one percent.

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The two leading reasons for conscription are that all men must share the burden of serving the country (19%) and that the younger generation must be taught discipline (16%). Once again, as was noted in examining the reasons given for setting up the army, the arguments of the young men follows that for West Germany as a whole, while West Berliners see it somewhat differently.

"In your opinion, should the future West German armed forces consist of volunteer career soldiers, or should compulsory military service be re-introduced?"

IF "Compulsory military service":
"Why do you think so?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Every able-bodied man must serve his country	19%	18%	16%
"Conditions must be normalized again. It must be brought home to young men that it's a man's duty and an honor for him to serve his country."			
"They all must do their share. Shirking is out as it would be unfair to tolerate a thing like that."			
" Every man has the duty to do a stint in the army"			
"We all are citizens of a country. We have the same rights and the same duties."			
"Every man should be brought up to regard it as his duty to serve as a soldier and to defend his fatherland."			
The younger generation must be taught discipline	16	10	35
"It's a good thing for every young German to undergo a period of rigorous military training. Some drill will do those young people good."			
"For educational reasons. Every young man should pass through a severe test as this is to form his character."			
"I would welcome military conscription as it means good physical training for the younger generation."			
"There are so many young people loafing around. They should be the first to learn order and discipline."			
"It's especially the young who should be taught discipline and solidarity as it was done in the past."			

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	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
The number of volunteers is not sufficient	3%	1%	6%
"I feel that in case of an attack we must be able to muster a large army right away to face the aggressor, and that can be done only through conscription." "Otherwise there wouldn't be enough well-trained soldiers in case of war." "I do not think that the number of volunteers would suffice for setting up an army. After all, we need a lot of soldiers."			
A conscript army is more efficient	2	4	3
"I think an army made up of draftees is much more valuable." "Because then we will have well-trained soldiers once more." "Among the volunteers will be many men who got stranded in their former lives and who will not feel much enthusiasm for their new career."			
A volunteer army is too expensive to maintain	1	1	1
"It would be too expensive to keep an army of professional soldiers." "A volunteer army would be too costly."			
Other answers	3	2	5
"Because unemployment would disappear." "I think it has always been that way"			
No opinion, no answer	1	1	-
	45%@	37%@	66%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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TWO-THIRDS OF WEST GERMAN MEN WILLING TO GO ALONG WITH A DRAFT, WHILE OVER SEVEN-TENTHS OF THE WOMEN ARE WILLING TO SEE THEM GO:....

As was noted in February 1955 almost two-thirds (64%) of the German men, in West Germany, would not put up any difficulties in the event that they were drafted. About two out of ten would attempt to interpose all possible legal objections, and only one out of ten says that he would absolutely refuse to serve.

"Which of the following points comes closest to your attitude?" (asked of men only) (CARD)

	West Germany				West Berlin	
	Feb.'55 (804)		Dec.'55 (659)		Dec.'55 (110)	
Very willing						
A - I would like to become a soldier and would sign up voluntarily	7%		6%		11%	
B - I would not mind being drafted for a limited period	20	27%	18	24%	19	30%
Somewhat willing						
C - Though I would not like to become a soldier, I would be willing to serve my time in the armed forces	27		30		32	
D - I'm against military service, but I feel I would have to comply if I were drafted	10	37	10	40	7	39
Unwilling						
E - I would try to evade the draft as long as I could do so with legal means	18		20		19	
F - I would refuse to serve in the armed forces under any conditions	11	29	9	29	6	25
Undecided	7		7		6	
	100%		100%		100%	

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The women of West Germany who in February were slightly more willing than their menfolk to see them go at all (66%), are now found to be even more favorable (72%). The women of West Berlin may be considered the most militaristic of all, for a staggering 88% feel that young men should be willing to serve.

"Which of the following points comes closest to your attitude?" (asked of women only) (CARD)

	West Berlin Feb.'55 (1063)		West Berlin Dec.'55 (866)		West Berlin Dec.'55 (170)	
Very willing						
A - Young men should volunteer to become soldiers	7%		7%		11%	
B - Young men should not mind being drafted for a limited period	34	41%	34	41%	51	62%
Somewhat willing						
C - Even though I don't particularly like the idea of young men becoming soldiers, I feel they should be willing to serve their time in the armed forces	16		21		21	
D - I'm against military service, but I feel men would have to comply if they were drafted	9	25	10	31	5	26
Unwilling						
E - Every man should try to evade the draft as long as he can do so with legal means	10		12		4	
F - I think all men should refuse to serve in the armed forces under any conditions	11	21	7	19	5	9
Undecided	13		9		3	
	100%		100%		100%	

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MILITARY-AGE YOUTH JUST AS WILLING TO SERVE....

Young men between the ages first subject to the draft are found to be as willing to serve in the army as the average male in West Germany (68% of the young men are willing - while 64% of all males chose these same categories). The only comment that might be made is one to the effect that the young men appear to be a little less eager to serve (than the average for all men) and a little more willing. Nineteen percent of the young men would either volunteer, or not mind being drafted as against 24% for all men. On the other hand 49% of the young men as against 40% of all men would be willing to serve their time even though against the idea in general.

"Which of the following points comes closest to your attitude?" (asked of men only) (CARD)

	West Germany Dec.'55 (659)		West German Men 18 - 24 (83)	
Very willing				
A - I would like to become a soldier and would sign up voluntarily	6%		5%	
B - I would not mind being drafted for a limited period	18	24%	14	19%
Somewhat willing				
C - Though I would not like to become a soldier, I would be willing to serve my time in the armed forces	30		39	
D - I'm against military service, but I feel I would have to comply if I were drafted	10	40	10	49
Unwilling				
E - I would try to evade the draft as long as I could do so with legal means	20		23	
F - I would refuse to serve in the armed forces under any conditions	9	29	7	30
Undecided	7		2	
	100%		100%	

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Section IV. - The Future Development of the New West German Army

LARGE MAJORITY EXPECTS THE ARMY TO INCREASE BEYOND THE PLANNED SIZE....

The majority of the West Germans and of the West Berliners see the planned army as only the prelude to the future development of the army. They expect the army to be larger than presently planned. A bare 10% - 15% think that it will stay as planned or decrease in size.

> "Do you believe the federal army will remain at its planned strength, or will it increase or decrease in numbers in the years to come?" (Asked of all after being told 12 divisions are planned for the new federal army.)

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Remain stationary	10%	10%	13%
Increase	61	70	75
Decrease	1	2	1
No opinion	28	18	11
	100%	100%	100%

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MORE ECONOMIC ADVANTAGES THAN DISADVANTAGES SEEN FOLLOWING ESTABLISHMENT OF THE ARMY....

The people of West Berlin are much more convinced than those in West Germany that the setting up of the army will bring more economic advantages than disadvantages to the country. Well over half (61%) in West Berlin thought it would bring advantages, while only 15% thought it would bring economic disadvantages. In West Germany only one-third (33%) thought that it would bring economic advantages, and one-fifth (19%) believed that it would entail disadvantages. It can thus be seen that almost half of the people in West Germany are uncertain as to what the consequences of rearmament are likely to be

"Do you think that setting up the federal army will, on the whole, bring us economic advantages or economic disadvantages?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Economic advantages	33%	29%	61%
Economic disadvantages	19	24	15
Both advantages and disadvantages	9	7	9
Neither/nor	18	22	10
No opinion	21	18	5
	100%	100%	100%

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PRIME ADVANTAGES - ENTIRE ECONOMY WILL BE STIMULATED AND UNEMPLOYMENT WILL DECREASE

PRIME DISADVANTAGES - ARMY COSTS MONEY AND TAXES WILL BE HIGHER

The advantages and disadvantages that people had in mind in answering the preceding question will be found in the following verbatim comments.

"Do you think that setting up the federal army will, on the whole, bring us economic advantages or economic disadvantages?"

IF "Economic advantages":
"What advantages are you thinking of?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
It will stimulate the entire economy	15%	7%	25%

"This will mean heaps of money for our industry"
"Every trade will thrive as the soldiers must be supplied with everything they need."
"There will be good times ahead for trade and business as there will be a great demand for all sorts of products."
"The trades and crafts will have plenty of work."
"It will stimulate business as more money will be circulating."

Unemployment will decrease	13	12 m	28

"Young people who are unemployed at present will join the army, and even some of the others who hold down jobs will sign up, thus there will be vacancies."
"People will no longer hang around street corners doing nothing."
"When the young fellows are drafted, there will be more jobs available for older men."
"People in all sorts of jobs will have more to do - unemployment will therefore decrease."
"It will stimulate the labor market."

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	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
The clothing industry will thrive	4%	5%	19%
"It will boost the textile industry." "Supplying the outfits for soldiers will help the economy." "More leather and clothing material will be needed - everything on a larger scale."			
The armament industry will expand	3	7	6
"Armament industries will have a boom." "It will revive the war industries." "The orders placed with war industries will stimulate the entire economy."			
The garrison towns will prosper	2	-	6
"The towns where troops will be stationed will flourish." "Business in the garrison towns will flourish."			
People will earn more and the standard of living will rise	2	-	4
"The years before a war are always good for business and everybody is well off - until the war breaks out." "Many people will be drafted and there will be a shortage of labor - so, I hope, we will get higher wages."			
The food-packing industry and agriculture will do good business	2	-	4
"There will be a boom in the food-processing industry." "It will mean much work and good business for the farmer."			
The building industry will expand	1	1	6
"I expect a boom in the building industry." "Barracks will have to be built, for instance."			
Other and general answers	1	1	1
No opinion, no answer	2	4	2
	45%@	37%@	101%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

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"Do you think that setting up the federal army will, on the whole, bring us economic advantages or economic disadvantages?"

IF "Economic disadvantages":
"What disadvantages are you thinking of?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Maintaining an army will cost money which could be used for other purposes	5%	8%	5%
"The sums allotted to the army are lost to other sectors of the economy." "It will be a drain on the finances of our country." "Because all money will flow into the army and our pensions will be cut." "It costs money and it's the children who will suffer as a result."			
The tax burden will become heavier still	5	5	5
"Means must be raised to finance the army. We will have to pay more taxes." "Business would be hampered by higher taxes." "Financial disadvantages through higher taxes." "New taxes will have to be paid by everybody in West Germany."			
There will be a shortage of consumer goods	4	6	4
"Goods, textiles and food stuffs, for example, will become scarce." "There will be a shortage of fuel and food for the civilian population." "Because the production of consumer goods will lag behind the production of arms."			
A shortage of labor in industry will ensue	4	11	1
"The loss of workmen will be a blow for industry." "Workers will be taken away from their jobs where they are needed." "Women will have to work in factories."			

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	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Prices will rise	2	2	2
"Everything will be more expensive and things are expensive enough as it is." "Prices would be unreasonably high because everything will go into armament."			
Since arms come from outside Germany, our industry will make no profits	1	-	-
"America doesn't allow us to make any profits from re-armament, since all the equipment, even clothing, comes from America." "We would hardly have a share in the production of war material."			
Other answers	1	2	*
"Sizeable areas of arable land could no longer be utilized for agricultural and land settlement purposes."			
No opinion, no answer	1	-	-
	23%@	34%@	18%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.
* Less than one half of one percent.

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MAJORITIES DO NOT WANT ARMY TO PLAY A POLITICAL ROLE IN THE STATE....

If the wishes of the majority (56%) of the people of Western Germany are heeded the new army will not be permitted to play a political role in the country, or allowed to enjoy a special status, but rather be the servant of the country. West Berliners are even more emphatic. Almost three-quarters (72%) of them ascribe to this point of view.

Even half (49%) of the young men agree to the statement that the army should have no privileges, although for understandably selfish reasons more of them (30%) than in the population as a whole would like to see the soldier have a privileged position in the society.

"Two persons are discussing the future West German army. Would you please tell me which of these views comes closest to your opinion?" (CARD)

		West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Mr. Schmidt:	An army is necessary for national defense. It must, however, not play a political role. The soldier, and even more so the officer, must not enjoy any privileges in the State. He is the servant of his country.	56%	49%	72%
Mr. Mayer:	As the soldier must expect to give his live in the service of his country, he deserves a privileged position in the State. The army must be the training school for the nation.	22	30	24
	No opinion	22	21	4
		100%	100%	100%

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OVER TWO-THIRDS WANT FORMER STRICT DRILL AND OBEDIENCE REPLACED

BUT, POPULACE UNCERTAIN WHETHER IT WILL BE.....

There can be little doubt but that the great majority of the West Germans (66% in West Germany and 72% in West Berlin) would like to have the former systems of drill and strict obedience replaced now that the opportunity presents itself.

Almost one-fifth of the population, however, even among the very young men who would be subjected to it, think that it should be retained.

"The two people go on to discuss military drill and obedience. Would you please tell me which of the two views comes closest to your opinion?" (CARD)

		West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Mr. Schmidt:	Strict drill and implicit obedience have been the basis for the success of German armies in the past. Therefore, as in the past, drill and obedience should serve as the basis on which to build the future federal army.	19%	18%	23%
Mr. Mayer:	Drill and implicit obedience have resulted in notorious abuses in the German army. Therefore, one should seize the present opportunity to replace them by something better.	66	76	72
	No opinion	15	6	5
		100%	100%	100%

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For all their expressed desire in the matter, German opinion is not at all certain what is likely to happen in this regard. When asked in the following question what would in fact be the case concerning drill and blind obedience, 39% thought it would be revived, and 37% thought that it would not.

Only in West Berlin is an absolute majority (61%) to be found thinking that it will not be revived.

"In your opinion, which trend will prevail in the new West German army: will drill and blind obedience be revived, or will this not happen?"

	West Germany	Men 18-24	West Berlin
Will be revived	39%	38%	30%
Will not be revived	37	46	61
No opinion	24	16	9
	100%	100%	100%

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ONLY IN BERLIN DOES MAJORITY FAVOR CIVILIAN CONTROL OVER THE ARMY...

The idea of civilian control over the army does not enjoy majority approval in West German, for while more people are in favor of the idea (39%) than are against it (15%), the largest percentage simply does not know what to think (40%).

Even among the young men of military age, who might be expected to be most in favor of such "safeguards" there is only a large (but less than majority) percentage for civilian control (42%), and a sizeable minority (18%) against it.

In West Berlin, while a majority (59%) are for civilian control, a quarter (26%) are opposed to such control.

"As one hears, plans have been made to place the future West German army under civilian control. Are you for such an arrangement, or are you against it?" (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)

	West German		Men 18-24		West Berlin	
Very much for it	27%)	39	29%)	42	40%)	59
Somewhat for it	12)		13)		19)	
Partly/partly	6		7		3	
Somewhat against it	6)		7)		9)	
Very much against it	9)	15	11)	18	17)	26
No opinion	40		33		12	
	100%		100%		100%	

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CONCERN FOR HUMAN DIGNITY AND DESIRE TO KEEP ARMY OUT OF POLITICS ARE LEADING REASONS FOR CIVILIAN CONTROL.....

The two reasons advanced most often (and which dwarf all other reasons combined) are concern that the dignity of the individual must not be debased by a possible return to the former system of strict drill and blind obedience (16% in West Germany and 26% in West Berlin), and the desire to keep the army out of the political life of the nation (12% in West Germany and 17% in West Berlin).

> "As one hears, plans have been made to place the future West German army under civilian control. Are you for such an arrangement or are you against it?" (Very much for it or somewhat for it?) (Very much against it or somewhat against it?)
>
> IF "Very much for it" and "Somewhat for it":
> "What are your reasons for holding this opinion?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
Human dignity must be safeguarded	16%	26%
"Under civilian control people are, at least, regarded as human beings."		
"A soldier is still a human being and a civilian control would guarantee that he is respected as one."		
"So that no more cases of men being ill-treated and hurt in their personal dignity will occur."		
"Abuses should be curbed in some way. I'm thinking of the demand for 'blind obedience'".		
"So that everybody will receive fair and just treatment."		
The army should not play a political part in the life of the nation	12	17
"By this arrangement the army will be checked in its lust for political power."		
"If the civilian authorities are too weak, the military authorities will again try to pursue political aims, and we know only too well where that leads to."		
"So that Germany will not become a military state and that political power will remain in the hands of the civilian authorities."		
"Civilian authorities must have the upper hand in a state. This would also mean a barrier against a military clique eager to seize political power."		
"The politicians have been trained for their jobs and have a better judgment of the general situation."		

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	West Germany	West Berlin
The public should know what goes on in the army	5%	8%
"So that the people know what's happening in the army. Formerly, these things were known only to those people who were closely connected with army matters."		
"It's quite right if one keeps an eye on these guys. We don't want any secret-mongers."		
"To provide the civilian with an insight into the military command."		
"So that the military brass won't form a caste of their own from which civilians are excluded."		
Military issues should be considered from different standpoints	3	3
"It is easier to clarify a situation if it is considered from different angles than only from the military standpoint."		
"Somebody from outside may judge matters more judiciously than those who are directly concerned with them."		
"The civilian element may have a mitigating influence - things would be looked at from different angles."		
Any aggressive tendencies of the army must be checked	1	2
"That will prevent the army from seeking to bring about a war."		
"Fighting a war is regarded by generals as the best pastime there is. If there is a civilian control I presume that war will be avoided if possible."		
The civilian control should be restricted	1	1
"But such a control shouldn't be exercised by anti-militarists."		
"But no party political control!"		

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	West Germany	West Berlin
No special reason, I am for it	4%	3%
"It is good if they're kept under somebody's thumb. I mean generally, some sort of control is always a good thing." "If there must be an army, then it's best to keep it under civilian control."		
Other answers	1	2
No opinion	1	3
	44%@	65%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.

"LEAVE ARMY BUSINESS TO MILITARY EXPERTS", SAY THOSE OPPOSED TO CIVILIAN CONTROL OF THE ARMY.....

By far the leading reason given by those people who oppose civilian control of the army is the view that civilians are incompetent in the military field, and that, therefore, matters are better left to the military experts (10% in West Germany and 21% in West Berlin).

"As one hears, plans have been made to place the future West German army under civilian control. Are you for such an arrangement, or are you against it?"

IF "Somewhat against it", or "Very much against it":
"And what are your reasons for holding this opinion?"

	West Germany	West Berlin
The civil and the military sectors are entirely different and should not be combined	10%	21%
"Civil and military bodies have nothing in common. The brass will know how to handle the job, I'm sure."		
"The army should be left alone. They know their business, and civilians should keep out."		
"It is no good if civil institutions have authority to interfere in military matters. Army men mustn't be handicapped in their decisions."		
"Civilians are not familiar with military matters. They are unable to judge military problems properly."		
"People without any experience in the military field might meddle in army affairs thus causing confusion. We should leave the army business to military experts."		
Armed forces must be commanded by military officers	4	3
"Only military men are in a position to command armed forces."		
"Because the head of an army has to be a general."		
"Military forces have to be commanded by career officers."		

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	West Germany	West Berlin
Military forces should not come under political influence	1%	2%
"Politicians should keep their hands off military matters." "Disagreements in parliament may have unfavorable repercussions on the army. Military forces must keep aloof from political bickering."		
Other answers	2	1
"There is no need to spy on a soldier." "Because such a control would violate the officers' honor."		
No opinion, no answer	*	-
	17%@	27%@

@ Some respondents gave more than one answer.
* Less than one half of one percent.

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A P P E N D I X

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"Can you tell me whether West Germany has an army of its own again already, or whether this isn't yet the case?"

	Army of it own	Not yet the case	Don't know	No. of cas
Total West Germany	71%	14%	15%...100%	1525
Sex:				
Men	82	11	7	659
Women	63	15	22	866
Education:				
Elementary school	69	14	17	1264
Beyond elementary	84	10	6	261
Income:				
Up to 149 DM	54	17	29	160
150 to 299 DM	64	15	21	312
300 to 399 DM	71	15	14	366
400 to 499 DM	75	13	12	257
500 DM and more	82	10	8	343
No answer	71	14	15	87
Opinion Leadership Scale:@				
Very active	86	9	5	79
Somewhat active	81	10	9	411
Remainder	66	15	19	1035
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	90	7	3	59
Upper middle classes	79	11	10	380
Lower middle classes	72	13	15	848
Lower classes	49	22	29	238
Age:				
Up to 24 years	82	9	9	163
25 to 34 years	75	13	12	355
35 to 44 years	75	12	13	279
45 to 54 years	68	18	14	323
55 years and above	63	13	24	405
Party Preference:				
SPD	80	11	9	354
CDU/CSU	72	16	12	423
FDP	88	6	6	81
Other parties	72	22	6	79
No party	68	12	20	319
No party Preference stated	57	14	29	269
Occupation:				
Professionals	85	10	5	40
Businessmen	82	12	6	86
White-collar workers	88	6	6	144
Skilled laborers	84	12	4	221
Semi-skilled laborers	82	9	9	127
Domestic service	62	13	25	45
Farmers, farmhands	69	17	14	112
Housewives	61	16	23	522
Unemployed	67	20	13	15
Pensioners; retired	59	16	25	200
Students; apprentices	69	31	-	13
Religion:				
Catholics	70	14	16	715
Protestants	72	13	15	755
Others	82	9	9	22
No religion	82	12	6	33

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@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

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	Army of its own	Not yet the case	Don't know	No. of cases
Origin:				
Natives	72%	13%	15%...100%	1235
Expellees, refugees	68	17	15	290
City Size:				
Up to 1,999	68	13	19	460
2,000 to 4,999	72	11	17	123
5,000 to 24,999	76	12	12	334
25,000 to 99,999	64	20	16	254
100,000 to 249,999	73	10	17	138
250,000 and more	78	12	10	216
Land:				
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	73	19	8	165
Lower Saxony	73	13	14	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	69	16	15	406
Hesse	77	8	15	166
Rhineland/Palatinate	76	8	16	85
Wuerttemberg/Baden	75	7	18	207
Bavaria	64	17	19	282

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[redacted]

"Would you please tell me how many divisions are planned for the German federal army, as far as you know, or how large the man power of the federal army is to be?"

	Right	Almost right	Wrong	No opinion	No. of cases
Total West Germany	27%	3%	6%	64%...100%	1525
Sex:					
Men	48	4	10	38	659
Women	12	2	3	83	866
Education:					
Elementary school	25	3	6	66	1264
Beyond elementary	39	4	7	50	261
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	17	1	4	78	160
150 to 299 DM	26	2	6	66	312
300 to 399 DM	28	3	4	65	366
400 to 499 DM	28	3	7	62	257
500 DM and more	34	4	9	53	343
No answer	24	3	2	71	87
Opinion Leadership Scale:@					
Very active	52	1	13	34	79
Somewhat active	37	5	9	49	411
Remainder	22	2	5	71	1035
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	47	5	10	38	59
Upper middle classes	31	3	6	60	380
Lower middle classes	27	3	5	65	848
Lower classes	18	2	6	74	238
Age:					
Up to 24 years	29	5	6	60	163
25 to 34 years	27	2	6	65	355
35 to 44 years	30	2	6	62	279
45 to 54 years	26	4	5	65	323
55 years and over	27	2	6	65	405
Party Preference:					
SPD	34	3	8	55	354
CDU/CSU	27	3	5	65	423
FDP	28	6	10	56	81
Other parties	32	5	10	53	79
No party	29	3	4	64	319
No party preference stated	15	2	4	79	269
Occupation:					
Professionals	43	5	10	42	40
Businessmen	33	7	7	53	86
White-collar workers	37	6	12	45	144
Skilled laborers	47	3	8	42	221
Semi-skilled laborers	39	3	4	54	127
Domestic service	18	-	4	78	45
Farmers, farmhands	35	4	9	52	112
Housewives	11	2	3	84	522
Unemployed	27	-	13	60	15
Pensioners; retired	26	1	5	68	200
Students; apprentices	46	8	8	38	13
Religion:					
Catholics	28	2	6	64	715
Protestants	27	3	5	65	755
Others	31	5	5	59	22
No religion	40	-	18	42	33

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@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Right	Almost right	Wrong	No opinion	No. of cases
Origin:					
Natives	28%	3%	6%	63%...100%	1235
Expellees, refugees	26	3	4	67	290
City Size:					
Up to 1,999	28	2	4	66	460
2,000 to 4,999	32	2	4	62	123
5,000 to 24,999	28	3	8	61	334
25,000 to 99,999	25	2	5	68	254
100,000 to 249,999	28	4	6	62	138
250,000 and more	27	5	9	59	216
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	22	3	8	67	165
Lower Saxony	26	2	4	68	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	27	3	8	62	406
Hesse	22	4	5	69	166
Rhineland/Palatinate	31	2	1	66	85
Wuerttemberg/Baden	31	3	1	65	207
Bavaria	32	2	9	57	282

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"Do you believe the federal army will remain at its planned strength, or will it increase or decrease in numbers in the years to come?"

	Remain stationary	In-crease	De-crease	No opinion	No. of cases
Total West Germany	10%	61%	1%	28%...100%	1525
Sex:					
Men	11	74	1	14	659
Women	9	51	1	39	866
Education:					
Elementary school	10	60	1	29	1264
Beyond elementary	13	65	1	21	261
Income:					
Up to 149 DM	9	54	2	35	160
150 to 299 DM	10	58	1	31	312
300 to 399 DM	9	62	1	28	366
400 to 499 DM	10	63	*	27	257
500 DM and more	12	67	*	21	343
No answer	10	52	-	38	87
Opinion Leadership Scale:@					
Very active	11	74	-	15	79
Somewhat active	8	72	1	19	411
Remainder	11	55	1	33	1035
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	8	73	-	19	59
Upper middle classes	11	63	*	26	380
Lower middle classes	9	61	1	29	848
Lower classes	13	55	*	32	238
Age:					
Up to 24 years	10	62	1	27	163
25 to 34 years	10	65	1	24	355
35 to 44 years	10	64	1	25	279
45 to 54 years	9	63	1	27	323
55 years and over	10	54	1	35	405
Party Preference:					
SPD	8	74	*	18	354
CDU/CSU	14	61	1	24	423
FDP	7	75	4	14	81
Other parties	9	67	-	24	79
No party	10	60	1	29	319
No party preference stated	8	39	1	52	269
Occupation:					
Professionals	8	67	-	25	40
Businessmen	9	69	1	21	86
White-collar workers	14	69	-	17	144
Skilled laborers	9	76	*	15	221
Semi-skilled laborers	9	65	2	24	127
Domestic service	9	42	-	49	45
Farmers; farmhands	10	74	1	15	112
Housewives	10	52	1	37	522
Unemployed	-	80	-	20	15
Pensioners; retired	11	50	1	38	200
Students; retired	23	62	-	15	13
Religion:					
Catholics	11	60	1	28	715
Protestants	9	62	1	28	755
Others	9	46	-	45	22
No religion	9	73	3	15	33

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* Less than one half of one per cent.
@ Determined by political and organizational participation.

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(Cont'd from preceding page)

	Remain stationary	In-crease	De-crease	No opinion	No. of cases
Origin:					
Natives	10%	61%	1%	28%...100%	1235
Expellees, refugees	8	64	*	28	290
City Size:					
Up to 1,999	11	60	*	29	460
2,000 to 4,999	5	70	-	25	123
5,000 to 24,999	11	58	2	29	334
25,000 to 99,999	9	59	*	32	254
100,000 to 249,999	11	58	1	30	138
250,000 and more	9	69	1	21	216
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	9	71	1	19	165
Lower Saxony	7	54	2	37	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	10	63	*	27	406
Hesse	9	62	1	28	166
Rhineland/Palatinate	8	61	-	31	85
Wuerttemberg/Baden	14	51	-	35	207
Bavaria	11	65	2	22	282

* Less than one half of one per cent.

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"Can you tell me from where West Germany will get the first shipment of arms for the new federal army?"

	From the USA	From our own production	From somewhere else	No opinion	No. of cases
Total West Germany	65%	5%	1%	29%..100%	1525
Sex:					
Men	83	4	1	12	659
Women	51	6	1	42	866
Education:					
Elementary school	62	6	1	31	1264
Beyond elementary	80	3	1	16	261
Income:					
Up to 149DM	59	6	1	34	160
150 to 299DM	59	4	1	36	312
300 to 399DM	66	7	1	26	366
400 to 499DM	63	7	1	29	257
500 DM and more	74	4	1	21	343
No answer	60	5	-	35	87
Opinion Leadership Scale:**					
Very active	81	4	-	15	79
Somewhat active	78	4	1	17	411
Remainder	59	6	1	34	1035
Socio-Economic Status:					
Upper classes	85	5	-	10	59
Upper middle classes	72	5	1	22	380
Lower middle classes	64	5	1	30	848
Lower classes	53	8	1	38	238
Age:					
Up to 24 years	64	4	3	29	163
25 to 34 years	72	4	*	24	355
35 to 44 years	66	8	1	25	279
45 to 54 years	63	6	1	30	323
55 years and above	60	5	*	35	405
Party Preference:					
SPD	72	6	1	21	354
CDU/CSU	69	7	*	24	423
FDP	85	4	1	10	81
Other parties	72	4	1	23	79
No party	63	4	1	32	319
No party preference stated	46	5	*	49	269
Occupation:					
Professionals	75	2	-	23	40
Businessmen	76	7	1	16	86
White collar workers	81	3	1	15	144
Skilled laborers	82	3	*	15	221
Semi-skilled laborers	69	7	2	22	127
Domestic service	58	7	-	35	45
Farmers, farmhands	75	3	2	20	112
Housewives	51	8	*	41	522
Unemployed	67	-	-	33	15
Pensioners; retired	57	4	1	38	200
Students, apprentices	77	23	-	-	13
Religion:					
Catholics	63	6	1	30	715
Protestants	66	5	1	28	755
Others	77	-	5	18	22
No religion	82	9	-	9	33

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* Less than one half of one per cent.

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	From the USA	From our own production	From somewhere else	No opinion	No. of cases
Origin:					
Natives	65%	6%	1%	28%	1235
Expellees, refugees	61	5	1	33	290
City Size:					
Up to 1,999	63	4	1	32	460
2,000 to 4,999	74	3	1	22	123
5,000 to 24,999	61	7	1	31	334
25,000 to 99,999	66	7	*	27	254
100,000 to 249,999	66	7	1	26	138
250,000 and more	67	5	1	27	216
Land:					
Schleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	80	2	-	18	165
Lower Saxony	62	4	*	34	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	62	6	1	31	406
Hesse	67	5	-	28	166
Rhineland/Palatinate	73	6	-	21	85
Wuerttemberg/Baden	60	5	*	35	207
Bavaria	64	8	1	27	282

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"Do you believe the federal army will obtain the most modern and the best equipment available with these shipments, or do you think this will not be the case?"

	Best equipment available	Will not be the case	No opinion	No. of cases
Total West Germany	44%	33%	23%..100%	1525
Sex:				
Men	44	44	12	659
Women	45	23	32	866
Education:				
Elementary school	45	31	24	1264
Beyond elementary	45	38	17	261
Income:				
Up to 149 DM	45	20	35	160
150 to 299 DM	47	28	25	312
300 to 399 DM	44	35	21	366
400 to 499 DM	44	34	22	257
500 DM and more	45	38	17	343
No answer	35	34	31	87
Opinion Leadership Scale:**				
Very active	37	52	11	79
Somewhat active	47	38	15	411
Remainder	43	29	28	1035
Socio-Economic Status:				
Upper classes	46	41	13	59
Upper middle classes	43	36	21	380
Lower middle classes	44	33	23	848
Lower classes	49	21	30	238
Age:				
Up to 24 years	51	27	22	163
25 to 34 years	44	37	19	355
35 to 44 years	45	31	24	279
45 to 54 years	45	33	22	323
55 years and above	41	31	28	405
Party Preference:				
SPD	44	40	16	354
CDU/CSU	58	25	17	423
FDP	53	37	10	81
Other parties	51	35	14	79
No party	34	40	26	319
No party preference stated	32	23	45	269
Occupation:				
Professionals	38	42	20	40
Businessmen	42	44	14	86
White collar workers	39	46	15	144
Skilled laborers	47	39	14	221
Semi-skilled laborers	42	41	17	127
Domestic service	45	13	42	45
Farmers, farmhands	45	37	18	112
Housewives	46	25	29	522
Unemployed	46	27	27	15
Pensioners; retired	45	24	31	200
Students, apprentices	31	38	31	13
Religion:				
Catholics	48	27	25	715
Protestants	42	36	22	755
Others	45	41	14	22
No religion	30	64	6	33

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	Best equipment available	Will not be the same	No opinion	No. of cases
Origin:				
Natives	44%	33%	23%..100%	1235
Expellees, refugees	48	30	22	290
City Size:				
Up to 1,999	45	30	25	460
2,000 to 4,999	34	46	20	123
5,000 to 24,999	48	27	25	334
25,000 to 99,999	44	34	22	254
100,000 to 249,999	44	36	20	138
250,000 and more	45	34	21	216
Land:				
Schleswig /Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	47	41	12	165
Lower Saxony	37	36	27	214
North Rhine/Westphalia	47	28	25	406
Hesse	45	33	22	166
Rhineland/Palatinate	32	43	25	85
Wuerttemberg/Baden	40	31	29	207
Bavaria	49	30	21	282

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"Do you think that setting up the federal army will, on the whole, bring us economic advantages or economic disadvantages?"

	Economic advantages	Economic disadvantages	Both	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases
Total West Germany	33%	19%	9%	18%	21%..100%	1525
Sex:						
Men	37	23	10	20	10	659
Women	32	16	7	17	28	866
Education:						
Elementary school	31	19	8	20	22	1264
Beyond elementary	43	22	12	12	11	261
Income:						
Up to 149 DM	31	13	3	26	27	160
150 to 299 DM	32	20	8	18	22	312
300 to 399 DM	31	19	9	18	23	366
400 to 499 DM	35	20	12	17	16	257
500 DM and more	38	22	10	15	15	343
No answer	30	15	8	23	24	87
Opinion Leadership Scale:**						
Very active	37	34	9	14	6	79
Somewhat active	40	24	8	18	10	411
Remainder	31	16	9	19	25	1035
Socio-Economic Status:						
Upper classes	46	29	13	5	7	59
Upper middle classes	36	21	10	16	17	380
Lower middle classes	31	19	9	20	21	848
Lower classes	32	14	5	21	28	238
Age:						
Up to 24 years	31	20	7	19	23	163
25 to 34 years	32	20	12	18	18	355
35 to 44 years	37	22	7	16	18	279
45 to 54 years	32	19	9	18	22	323
55 years and above	33	17	7	20	23	405
Party Preference:						
SPD	29	25	10	21	15	354
CDU/CSU	44	14	8	18	16	423
FDP	40	21	17	14	8	81
Other parties	43	23	14	13	7	79
No party	29	20	6	23	22	319
No party preference stated	22	17	7	13	41	269
Occupation:						
Professionals	38	30	15	2	15	40
Businessmen	30	22	21	18	9	86
White-collar workers	33	26	12	25	14	144
Skilled laborers	35	19	10	22	14	221
Semi-skilled laborers	42	20	8	17	13	127
Domestic service	31	13	4	27	25	45
Farmers, farmhands	34	21	10	22	13	112
Housewives	29	17	7	19	28	522
Unemployed	34	13	-	33	20	15
Pensioners; retired	35	16	4	17	28	200
Students, apprentices	61	23	8	-	8	13
Religion:						
Catholics	33	17	8	20	22	715
Protestants	35	20	9	16	20	755
Others	32	41	9	-	18	22
No religion	27	40	3	24	6	33

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	Economic advantages	Economic disadvantages	Both	Neither/ nor	No opinion	No. of cases
gin:						
ntives	32%	20%	8%	19%	21%..100%	1235
xpellees, refugees	40	14	11	17	18	290
y Size:						
p to 1,999	32	17	10	18	23	460
2,000 to 4,999	46	14	8	20	12	123
5,000 to 24,999	30	20	8	21	21	334
25,000 to 99,999	33	19	9	16	23	254
00,000 to 249,999	43	17	6	16	18	138
50,000 and more	27	26	8	19	20	216
l:						
chleswig/Holstein, Hamburg, Bremen	52	22	5	9	12	165
ower Saxony	31	25	4	16	24	214
orth Rhine/West- phalia	33	18	8	17	24	406
esse	31	16	16	19	18	166
hineland/Palatinate	27	7	11	30	25	85
ierttemberg/Baden	22	15	13	22	28	207
avaria	36	22	8	20	14	282

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